





By the advertisement in your newspapers, calling upon masters to come forward and claim these men as captured, I suppose that your authorities still adhere to that claim; that is to say, that whenever a colored soldier of the United States is captured by you, and is taken to the States now in insurrection, such soldier is not to be treated as a prisoner of war, but is to be turned over to his supposed owner or claimant, and put at such labor or service as that owner or claimant may choose, and the officers in command of the soldiers, in the language of a supposed act of the Confederate States, are to be turned over to the Governors of States, upon requisitions, for the purpose of being punished by the laws of such States for acts done in war in the armies of the United States.

You must be aware that there is still a proclamation by Jefferson Davis, the Chief Executive of the Confederate States, declaring in substance that all officers of colored troops mustered into the service of the United States were not to be treated as prisoners of war, but were to be turned over for punishment to the Governors of States.

I am reciting these public acts from memory, and shall be pardoned for not giving the exact words, although I believe I do not vary the substance and effect.

These declarations on the part of those whom you represent yet remain unrevoked, unannulled, and must therefore be still supposed to be authoritative. By your acceptance of our proposition, is the government of the United States to understand that these several claims, enactments and proclamations are to be given up, set aside, revoked, and held for naught, by the Confederate authorities, and that you are ready and willing to exchange man for man those colored soldiers of the United States, duly mustered and enrolled as such, who have heretofore been claimed as slaves by the Confederate States, as well as white soldiers who have been claimed as slaves by the United States?

If this be so, and you are willing to exchange these colored men claimed as slaves, and you will officially inform the government of the United States, then, as I am instructed, a principal difficulty in effecting exchanges will be removed.

As I informed you personally, in my judgment, it is neither consistent with the policy, dignity or honor of the United States, upon any consideration, to allow those who, by our laws solemnly enacted, are made soldiers of the Union, and who have been duly enlisted, enrolled and mustered as such soldiers—who have borne arms in behalf of this country—to be treated as prisoners of war, and remain unexchanged, and in the service of those who claim them as masters; and I cannot believe that the government of the United States will ever be found to consent to so gross a wrong.

Pardon me if I misunderstand you in supposing that your acceptance of our proposition does not in good faith mean to include all the soldiers of the Union, and that you still intend, if your acceptance is agreed to, to hold the colored soldiers of the Union unexchanged, and at labor or service, because I am informed that very lately, almost contemporaneously with this offer, the Government of the United States has issued a proclamation, which seems to include all prisoners of war, the Confederate authorities have made a declaration that the negroes hitherto held to service by owners in the States of Delaware, Maryland and Missouri are to be treated as prisoners of war when captured in arms in the service of the United States. Such a declaration that the service of the colored soldiers of the United States were to be prisoners of war would seem most strongly to imply that others were not to be so treated, or in other words, that colored men in the insurrectionary States are to be held to labor and returned to their masters, if captured by the Confederate forces while duly enrolled and mustered into and actually in the armies of the United States.

In the view which the government of the United States takes of the claim made by you to the persons and services of the colored soldiers of the United States, supported upon any principle of national or municipal law.

Looking upon these men only as property, upon your theory of property in them, we do not see how this claim can be made, certainly not how it can be yielded. It is a claim to the persons and services of public international law, and a custom and part of the laws of war, that the capture of movable property vests the title to that property in the captor, and therefore, when one belligerent gets into full possession of property belonging to the subjects or citizens of the other belligerent, the capture of that property is at once divested of its title, which rests in the belligerent government capturing and holding such possession. Upon this rule of international law all civilized nations have acted, and by it both belligerents have dealt with all property, save slaves taken from the enemy, as movable property.

If the Confederate forces capture a number of horses from the United States, the animals immediately are claimed to be, and, as we understand it, become the property of the Confederate authorities.

If the United States capture any movable property in the rebellion, by our regulations, it is not to be in conformity with international law and the laws of war, such property is turned over to our government as its property. Therefore, if we obtain possession of that species of property known to the laws of the insurrectionary States as slaves, why should there be any doubt that this property, like any other, vests in the United States?

If the property in the slave does so, yet, then, the "jus disponendi," the right of disposing of that property, rests in the United States.

Now the United States have disposed of the property which they have acquired by capture in slaves taken by them, by giving that right of property to the man himself, to the slave, that is, by emancipating him and declaring him free forever, so that if we have not mistaken the principles of international law and the laws of war, we have no slaves in the armies of the United States. All are free men, being made so in such a manner as we have chosen to dispose of our property in them which we acquired by capture.

Slaves being captured by us, and the right of property in them thereby vested in us, that right of property has been disposed of by us by emancipating them, as has always been the acknowledged right of the owner to do to his slave. The manner in which we dispose of our property while it is in our possession cannot be questioned by you.

Nor is the case altered if the property is not actually captured in battle, but comes into our possession by or involuntarily from the belligerent owner into the possession of the other belligerent.

I take it no one would doubt the right of the United States to a drove of Confederate mules, or a herd of Confederate cattle, which should wander or rush across the Confederate lines, and enter the territory of the United States. All are free men, being made so in such a manner as we have chosen to dispose of our property in them which we acquired by capture.

Do the Confederate authorities claim the right to reduce to a state of slavery free men, prisoners of war captured by them? This claim our fathers fought against under Bainbridge and Decatur, when set up by the Barbary powers on the northern shore of Africa, about the year 1800, and in 1864 their children will hardly yield it upon their own soil.

This point I will not pursue further, because I understand you to repudiate the idea that you will reduce free men to slaves because of capture in war, and that you base the claim of the Confederate authorities to renege our negro soldiers, when captured by you, upon the "jus post limini," or that principle of the law of nations, which rehabilitates the former owner with his property taken by an enemy, when such property is recovered by the forces of his own country.

Or, in other words, you claim that by the laws of nations and of war, when property of the subjects of one belligerent power, captured by the forces of the other belligerent, is recovered by the forces of the former owner, then such property is to be restored to its prior possessor, as if it had never been captured, and, therefore, under this principle, your authorities propose to restore to their masters the slaves which heretofore belonged to them which you may capture from us.

But this post liminary right upon which you claim to act, as understood and defined by all writers on national law, is applicable simply to movable property, and that, too, only after the complete reorganization of that portion of the country in which the property is situated, upon which this right fastens itself. By the laws and customs of war, this right has never been applied to movable property.

True, it is, I believe, that the Romans attempted to apply it to the case of slaves, but for two thousand years no other nation has attempted to set up this right as ground for treating slaves differently from other property.

But the Romans ever refused to renege slaves men captured from opposing belligerents in a civil war, as ours is.

Consistently, then, with any principle of the law of nations, treating slaves as property merely, it would seem to be impossible for the government of the United States to permit the negroes in their ranks to be renege slaves when captured, or treated otherwise than as prisoners of war.

I have, therefore, sir, in this discussion, to argue the question upon any other different grounds of right than those adopted by your authorities in claiming the negro as property, because I understand that your fabric of opposition to the government of the United States has the right of property in man as its corner-stone. Of course, it would not be profitable in settling a question of exchange of prisoners of war to attempt to argue the question of abandonment of the very corner-stone of their attempted political edifice. Therefore I have omitted all consideration of what should apply to the negro soldier as a man, and dealt with him upon the Confederate theory of property only.

I unite with you most cordially, sir, in desiring a speedy settlement of all these questions, in view of the great suffering endured by our prisoners in the hands of your authorities, of which you so feelingly speak. Let me ask, in view of that suffering, why you have delayed eight months to answer a proposition which by now accepting you admit to be right, just and humane, allowing that suffering to continue so long? One cannot help thinking, even at the risk of being deemed uncharitable, that the benevolent sympathies of the Confederate authorities have been lately stirred by the depleted condition of their armies, and a desire to get into the field to affect the present campaign, the hale, hearty and well-fed prisoners held by the United States in exchange for their soldiers, sick, emaciated and unrecruitable soldiers of the United States now languishing in your prisons. The events of this war, if we did not know it before, have taught us that it is not the Northern portion of the Northern people alone who know how to drive sharp bargains.

The wrongs, the indignities and privations suffered by our soldiers would move me to consent to anything to procure their exchange, except to barter away the honor and faith of the government of the United States, which has been so solemnly pledged to the colored soldiers in its ranks.

Constantly with you and justice, we cannot relinquish this position. With your authorities it is a question of property merely. It seems to address itself to you in this form. Will you suffer your soldier, captured in fighting your battles, to be in confinement for months, rather than release him by giving him for that which you call a piece of property, and which we are willing to accept as a man?

You certainly appear to place less value upon your soldier than you do upon your negro. I assure you, much as we of the North are accused of loving property, our citizens would have no objection to yielding to you the property which they have in exchange for one of their brothers or sons languishing in your prisons. Certainly there could be no doubt that they would do so were that piece of property less in value than five thousand dollars in Confederate money, which is believed to be the price of an able-bodied negro in the insurrectionary States.

Trusting that I may receive such a reply to the questions propounded in this note as will lead to a speedy resumption of the negotiations for a full exchange of all prisoners, and a delivery of them to their respective authorities, I have the honor to be, very respectfully, your obedient servant.

BENJ. F. BUTLER,  
Major-Gen. and Commissioner of Exchange.

**GENERAL JOE HOOKER'S SPEECH ON THE WAR.**

The people of Watertown, Mass., where "Fighting Joe" Hooker is making a brief sojourn, celebrated the Atlanta victory on Monday night. A procession was formed, and marched to the residence of Gen. J. V. B. Hooker, where the General stopped, and the hero of Lookout Mountain made them the following pointed and characteristic address:

FELLOW CITIZENS.—You have come here to rejoice at the success of the Union arms, in which I am ready to join you heart and hand. My business is fighting, not speech-making; but let me tell you that the army of Sherman is in the hands of the Confederates. We must treat this rebellion as a wise parent would a vicious child—he must whip him into submission. No milder discipline will answer the purpose. Some are crying peace; but there can be no peace as long as a rebel can be found with arms in his hands. When the General is at peace, when there is no peace? This Union must be preserved, and there is no way of preserving it but by the power of our arms—by fighting the conspiracy to death. This rebellion is tottering now while I speak; it is going down, down, and will soon tumble into ruin. Politicians may talk to you about the cause of the war, but I say, put down the rebellion, and then, if you choose, inquire into the cause of it. But first put down the insurgents—first whip them, and then talk about the cause, if you have nothing else to engage your attention. I believe in treating the rebellion as Gen. Jackson treated Indians, and whip them first and treat them afterwards. The Union cannot be divided, let politicians talk as they may; for if division commences, where are you to end? First the South would go, then the Pacific States, then New England. I fear that one notorious politician has advocated that the city of New York should secede from the Empire State. In such case there would be no end to rebellion. Gentlemen, every interest you have depends upon the success of our cause; every dollar you possess is at stake in the preservation of this Union. It will better accord with my feelings to see the lions of our glorious country extended, rather than circumscribed, and we may feel it a national necessity to enlarge our borders at no distant day. This Union, gentlemen, cannot be dissolved, as long as the army have guns to fight with. Furnish men and muskets, and the Union is secured.

This is the language of true patriotism, worthy of universal respect.

**"A MILITARY ADVENTURER."**

The Richmond Dispatch of June, 1862, said:

"In the early part of this year, General McClellan was ordered to a distinguished office in the South, expressing his desire to serve in the Confederate army. He cares to deny the fact—and his recent report proves that, in mendacity, he is the representative man of the Yankee nation—it can be demonstrated by such evidence as will close his lips in eternal silence. When he was at West Point, he affected to fraternize especially with those from the South, and to have little sympathy with those from the North. We dare say this was genuine, and that he really was anxious to serve under Jeff. Davis in this war, but the high bribe offered by Lincoln, was too much for his easy virtue. He was not the man to refuse interest in the present, and of late has shown a disposition to become as extreme in his antagonism as is his friendship for the South."

The Richmond Whig copied the above, and added:

"After the battle of Rich Mountain, McClellan declared to Confederate officers, who were prisoners of war, that he would much rather be leading an army against Massachusetts than Virginia. This can be proved by unimpeachable authority, if denied. This boasted soldier and gentleman of the North is as much a hiring and adventurer as any Hessian in his ranks. If he has any conscience, it rebukes him daily for the base work in which he is employed. When to the pang of remorse is added the shame of defeat, his condition will be such as even an enemy may pity."

The above paragraph went the rounds of the Northern press, and we have never heard of their charges being met or their challenge accepted by Gen. McClellan or any of his friends.

## The Liberator.

No Union with Slaveholders!  
BOSTON, FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 23, 1864.

### THE CONFLICT, AND ITS CHARACTER.

The patriotic American who takes a general survey of his country at the present time, will be scarcely less interested in the conflict which is waging at North, than in that which is saturating with human blood the battle-fields of the South. The character of the conflict is, in both regions, the same. North and South alike, the issue is between Union and Disunion; Liberty and Slavery; a free Democratic Republic Government and an Oligarchical Despotism; the edifice erected by the early builders, whose Corner Stone was Universal Liberty, and that which rears its head to-day, whose Corner Stone is Slavery. This conflict, in which not only all that is dear to humanity is involved, but all that is dear to the institutions of this country, has reached its crisis, and that crisis will last until after the 8th of November next. In this conflict, the traitors in arms, marshalled under Davis and Lee at the South, and the traitors and Copperheads, armed and unnamed, marshalled under McClellan and Vandigham at the North, form one army. Alike, they seek the overthrow of the existing Government, for the reason that it is administered in the spirit of freedom, and not in the interest of slavery. Alike, they are animated by a feeling of malignant hostility and unquenchable rage against Abraham Lincoln, on account of his anti-slavery policy, and because he has made the abandonment of slavery, as well as a return to the Union, a condition of peace with the rebelled States. Alike, they hold in contempt and abhorrence that part of the Creator's offspring known by the name of the "Negro Race," and would make it part and parcel of the fundamental laws of their new nation, that the hated race should be held in everlasting involuntary servitude. Alike, they would crush all freedom of speech, save when the faculty of speech is employed to vindicate the right of one man to enslave and imbrute another. Alike, they would resort to any means, however violent or bloody, to achieve their objects, when the attainment of them was delayed or opposed by legal or constitutional obstructions.

With this consolidated power—the Slave Power North and South—the friends of law and liberty, of free institutions and a republican form of government, have, during this crisis, to contend. It is a power formidable in its proportions, fierce in its temper, unscrupulous in the use of weapons, earnest, resolute and desperate—but not invincible.

The loyal and patriotic task of defeating and utterly vanquishing this terrible power is divided between the brave armies of the Union in the field of armed warfare at the South, and the Republican party in the field of Presidential politics at the North.

The troops that are fighting for the National cause against the armies of rebellion at the South have given assurance that their part of the work shall be well and triumphantly done; physical obstacles, however, may for awhile postpone its completion. Not so at the North. The day is irrevocably fixed, when the contending parties will be confronted, and the issue be determined. That day draws near.

Six weeks only intervene between the present, and the time when the people will have to decide, by their votes for Presidential electors, upon which of the two contending parties they will confer the power of administering the Government for the next four years, the affairs of this Republic. Then it will be seen, whether the work of freedom, humanity and civilization, which has advanced so auspiciously during the last three years, shall be continued and consummated; or whether that which has been done shall be utterly undone, and the dominion of slavery, with its cruelties and barbarism, be re-established.

There is a course which may be taken, in this eventful crisis, which we have a confident belief would lead to a glorious victory, and which we are certain is the right and heaven-approved one, whatever may be the result. That course is, to make this Presidential contest one of principles—of principles of the highest political morality—principles precisely the opposites of those that have been avowed by the misty Democracy of the country. Let there be set before the people what is true, and just, and right, divested of all qualifications and all compromise. Let the people be shown distinctly what may be gained, and what may be lost, by the use or the abuse of the right they are about to exercise. Let the people have placed before them, in the clearest light, the tremendous issues involved in the present political struggle. Let it be shown that the question to be resolved is not the question, merely, of the restoration of the territorial Union of those States; but of the principles upon which the Federal Government of the States shall hereafter rest. Let it be shown that the question will have to be decided, who shall be "the people" that shall form the future Union, and shall control the destinies of the Nation; whether the friends of liberty and equality, of free institutions and universal education; or those who constitute the most vicious and dangerous elements of Northern society, in combination with all that is degraded, brutal and despotic at the South.

"Men of thought! be up and stirring,  
Night and day!  
See the seed—withdraw the curtain—  
Close the way!  
Men of action, aid and cheer them,  
As ye may!  
Lo! a cloud's about to vanish  
From the day;  
Lo! the right's about to conquer—  
Close the way!  
And a brazen wrong to crumble  
Into clay!  
Men of thought and men of action,  
Clear the way!"

—G. T.

### SPEECH OF AN M. P.

At a banquet recently given by the Master Cutlers of Sheffield, England, speeches were made by Mr. J. A. Roebuck, the representative of the town, and Sir Frank Crossley, Bart., one of the members for the county. Mr. Roebuck, for the first time since the breaking out of the war, was silent on the subject of America. His parliamentary colleague, however, was not wholly forgetful of the topic. He thought that England, having entailed upon herself a debt of £200,000,000, through interference in the affairs of other countries, had acted wisely in abstaining from taking any part in the struggles which during the last few years had agitated Europe and America. He said:

"If I refer to America, I must say that we cannot look upon what is going on there without the deepest sorrow and commiseration. I have visited both the Northern and the Southern States. When I went from the North to the South, I took with me my opinions in favor of the North; but I was told that it would be as much as my life to express my sentiments on the question of slavery. When I got to the South, however, and sat down among the people there, I found that they did not wait for me to introduce the subject, but brought it up themselves. I was asked to compare their domestic institutions with those of my own country, and I did not think the slaves on their plantations were better off than the laborers of England! Were they not better clothed and better cared for than the working classes here? My answer was, that if the working men of England would not work, they were not paid; but that when they worked, they were honestly paid for what they did. Slavery is the curse of the Southern States. Slavery is the sole cause of the war that has rent the Union asunder. Nevertheless, good will, I believe, result from the present war, and all will come right. I think, in the end, though I am not sure that the North will be able to conquer the South. I trust to see the day when every American, black as well as white, will be paid for his labor. (Cheers.)"

This must have been rather a bitter pill for Mr. Roebuck to swallow.

### THE McLELLAN MEETING.

The people who call themselves "the Democracy" of Boston and vicinity, held a meeting in Faneuil Hall last Saturday evening, to aid the election of George B. McClellan to the Presidency. Great exertions had been made to call together a large gathering, and it was large. The hall was densely crowded, and those who could not get in marched and counter-marched in the vicinity, with banners, fireworks, music and shoutings, much to the inconvenience of the speakers and hearers within.

The President of the meeting was Mr. Joseph S. Fay, and the principal speaker was Judge Abbott, one of the delegates to the Chicago Convention. Those who wish to read the proceedings in full, can expect reports in the *Post* and *Journal*. I propose here not to describe the meeting, but merely to touch upon some of its peculiarities.

The chairman of the Committee of Arrangements, who called the meeting to order, was Mr. Peter Harvey, the intimate friend and enthusiastic admirer of Daniel Webster, and during most of his life, a strong opponent of the Democratic party.

Heading the long list of Vice Presidents was the name of Hon. Robert C. Winthrop, a name thoroughly in contrast with everything Democratic, in both the sense of that word, and now brought into connection with the party so called, only through its favor to slavery and its hatred of anti-slavery.

Some resolutions prepared for the occasion were read by Col. Greene, Editor of the *Post*. The first censured President Lincoln and his Cabinet, the second praised General McClellan, the third heartily endorsed the Chicago Convention, the fourth complained of "the present deplorable civil war," and the fifth rejoiced in our victories in that war, and thanked the soldiers and sailors who are fighting in it.

It might seem to an ordinary understanding that there was some discrepancy between the fifth of these resolutions and the two preceding it. But the political party here in question is entirely independent of such considerations. The leaders don't care for discrepancies, and the followers don't perceive them. But the mass of absurdity contained in the fourth of these resolutions is so remarkable as to be worthy of special notice and comment. As printed in the *Post*, it is as follows:—

Resolved, "That the present deplorable civil war is fatal to the Union and the Constitution, and therefore it is the highest duty of the people to preserve their Government, and maintain its integrity in this contest, by all means in their power."

It would be bad enough to have merely no connection whatever between premise and conclusion, and to say, "Because yellow and blue make green, therefore the sun rises in the East and sets in the West." But the statement of two irrelevant true propositions as logically connected does not parallel the present case. To make a sentence fairly corresponding to that above quoted, which was read, and applauded, and voted, in the meeting, and printed the next morning in the *Post*, one should say, "Because blue and yellow make red, therefore the sun rises in the West and sets in the East."

Even this amount of absurdity does not fully parallel the Democratic resolution; for not only is false that this war is fatal to either Union or Constitution—not only is it false that the highest duty of the people is to preserve their Government in this contest—not only are these two propositions, true or false, destitute of connection as premise and conclusion—but the plain meaning of the second proposition is diametrically opposed to the wish, and purpose, and action of the meeting which voted it. Instead of wishing to "preserve" the Government which is now carrying on "this contest," the Democrats are seeking to overthrow and destroy it. Their vote upon the resolution, therefore, considering the course they are taking in regard to the existing Government, is as absurd as the resolution itself.

In the speeches, as in the resolutions, although strong devotion was declared to the Union, little or nothing was said against the rebellion. The Chicago platform was praised as all right, the letter of McClellan was praised as entirely satisfactory, and through all the proceedings of the meeting it was assumed, with an effrontery worthy of the leaders and the party, that there was no contrariety between the platform and the candidate. Just as he ignores the impossibility of riding two horses which go in opposite directions, so they ignore the absurdity of accepting a candidate on a peace platform. In this one particular, a common disregard of truth and consistency, the parties in this contest are well matched.

In some points this meeting bore a striking contrast to the gathering held in support of the Administration which had assembled in the same place a short time before. Very few ladies or women were present in the McClellan meeting. A strong force of police were early on the ground, as if in expectation that their services would be needed. And whereas, in the Republican meeting, a shout raised by opponents for McClellan was allowed to pass without interference, in the Democratic one, as soon as a man gave cheers for Abraham Lincoln, a furious howl was raised, the efforts of the speaker on the platform and of the Chairman to obtain silence were disregarded, the meeting roared "Put him out," and a tumult of groans and outcries was kept up for five minutes, until the dissembler was forced out of the old Cradle of Liberty.

There was great enthusiasm in the meeting from beginning to end. The chief manifestations of it were called out by the name of McClellan, which was all ways warmly applauded. Next after this, the strongest demonstrations of feeling came out, on the part of the audience, whenever the speakers expressed disapprobation of the drafting of soldiers, or contempt for the colored population of the country. The "Democracy," as here represented, were plainly a "white man's party and a slaveholders' party," as well as a war-party—C. K. W.

### RESOLUTIONS OF INQUIRY.

The Worcester Freedom Club, at its weekly meeting on Friday the 9th, adopted the following form of inquiry to the Hon. Secretary of State, Wm. H. Seward:—

1. Resolved, That the Worcester Freedom Club, watching with loyal and patriotic interest not only the course of events, but the utterances and doings of public men as they bear upon public affairs, respectfully asks of the Secretary of State the meaning of that passage in his Auburn speech of Sept. 3d, reported as follows, viz:—

"That when the insurgents shall have disbanded their arms, as I said before, the war will instantly cease—and all the war measures then existing, including those which affect slavery, will cease also; and all the moral, economical and political questions now pending, which affect slavery as others, which shall then be existing, between individuals, and States, and the Federal Government, whether they arose before the civil war began, or whether they grew out of it, will, by force of the Constitution, pass over to the arrangement of courts of law, and to the councils of legislation."

2. Resolved, That the Freedom Club anxiously asks if the country is to understand by that Enactment, being a war measure, will "instantly cease" with the closing of the war, and only those slaves emancipated that shall actually have gained their freedom in the course of the war.

3. Resolved, That the entire nation addressed by the Secretary of State in his late Auburn speech upon the eve of the Presidential election, being deeply interested in the answer to this question, a definite and positive reply is justly due to the country, through the medium of the public press, in order that the people may know distinctly what is the policy they are called to vote in favor of what the Secretary argues, viz, the re-election of the present incumbent of the Presidency.

The Editor of the *Liberator* has just returned from his recreative visit to Peterboro', Syracuse and Auburn, N. Y.—a visit which he has enjoyed "to the brim,"—and will resume his editorial labors with the next number of his paper.

### ENGLISH SENTIMENT ON THE AMERICAN QUESTION.

MARCHESTER, (Eng.) Aug. 27, 1864.  
TO WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON, Esq.,  
Boston, Massachusetts, U. S. A.

MY DEAR SIR—I cannot refrain from writing you a few lines of sincere congratulation and earnest sympathy. Your esteemed mutual friend, GEORGE THOMSON, will be able to tell you that I have long been one of your ardent admirers and humble followers in the great cause of universal freedom. I have a vivid and most pleasant recollection of meeting you and the noble apostles of liberty, Frederick Douglass, Henry C. Wright and George Thompson, on the platform of the Free Trade Hall, Manchester, some eighteen years ago. You will remember the occasion, though you can have no recollection of me, or of writing your autograph for me on the fly-leaf of FREDERICK DOUGLASS'S NARRATIVE. From that day to this, the fervent and constant prayer of my heart has been—"God bless William Lloyd Garrison, the friend of the down-trodden and oppressed!"

Most intensely and affectionately I have watched your career; noted your heroic labors and sacrifices; and exulted in all the noble triumphs and glorious conquests you have been privileged to realize, so far beyond any thing you could at one time have ventured to hope for, or even dream of as possible. Well may you look back, and look around, and say, "What hath God wrought!" Truly, the work is God's; but, as truly, you have been a devoted and faithful co-worker. And, verily, you have your reward, in the sublime and ecstatic consciousness of having been an honorable agent, not a mere blind instrument, of accomplishing great and beneficent results, fraught with incalculable good for all races and all coming ages. For, not alone is the poor slave benefitted when his chain is broken; the slave-master, and all who stand by as consenting on-lookers, (thereby involved in the guilt, suffering and degradation of wrong-doing,) are partakers of the benefits and blessings of EMANCIPATION.

I look upon you, therefore, as the world's benefactor; one of the true Prophets and Priests of Humanity; yes, one of the Universal Kings of Mankind, before whom all souls, loyal to truth, goodness and duty, do glad and willing homage.

But I did not take my pen up to indulge in any obtrusive personal reminiscence, or in mere expressions of gratulation. I rather wished to say a few words to you about the actual, pregnant, momentous situation of affairs in America.

As a British subject, I am conscious that I cannot legitimately intrude my opinions, or dogmatize on matters pertaining to the PARTY POLITICS of America. I have no right to say that Mr. Lincoln is, or is not, the most fit and proper man to be elected President. I am not in a position to judge in that matter; and any such expression, therefore, would be impertinent, if not offensive.

But as one deeply interested in all that deeply affects humanity; and as an Abolitionist, intently and most sympathetically alive to whatever seems to involve the progress, the triumph and consummation of the sacred cause of UNIVERSAL FREEDOM, I claim a right to form and express an opinion on the moral arena. And though the opinion of one but little known, and quite unimportant, can have no weight or significance with you, I will venture to obtrude it, because I feel certain that my individual opinion is in harmony with the thoughts and sentiments, aspirations and convictions, of the great bulk of the people of England who have made themselves at all acquainted with the real facts and the true bearings of the great conflict—social, moral, political and military—now going on in America; a contest in which the people of the free States are so heroically shedding their best blood.

I am by nature and conviction opposed to all war, and hope to see the day when Christian nations will bind themselves to some more rational and manly method of settling their disputes. Still, I cannot but recognize that human governments, as constituted, must repel, and, if possible, overpower and subdue, armed and desperate Rebels who seek to destroy the Nation's life, by practically asserting the right of secession and territorial disintegration; and this, not in the direction of further liberty, or of any of her just objects, but for the hideous purpose of riveting afresh the galling fetters that bind an enthralled race, and the extension of a system of chattel slavery, viler and more oppressive than the sun ever shone on—the stigma, curse and execration of civilization!

It was the Southern Slaveholders, headed by the leading politicians of the South, in their interest and confidence, who went to war against their own National Government with reckless and unscrupulous and idiotic folly. The Cabinet of Mr. Lincoln did not want war; did not desire war; but did every thing it could, compatible with honor and fidelity to sworn trust, to stave off and avert war. Its great weakness was, that it did not really believe that the South earnestly intended war. It did not credit the ominous and infernal declarations of the slaveholding statesmen. And when Fort Sumter was fired upon and the national flag outraged, at that moment, and by that act, the national conscience—the sense of honor, dignity, duty, and all that makes life holy and noble—was fired. It needed not a proclamation from Mr. Lincoln to call men to arms. Mr. Lincoln rather erred in forbearance and hesitancy, and in proclaiming an inadequate sense of the danger and necessity, by calling for only seventy-five thousand volunteers for a brief term of enlistment. Had he called for twice the number, and enrolled them for the war, he might have evinced a profounder view of the crisis. The Southern leaders could not have done, under any circumstances, more than they have done. They have fought with the energy of desperation in the first moment, and they have performed prodigies of valor—I would say heroism, but their cause is so base and brutal, that nothing truly heroic can be predicated of it, without blasphemy against God and Humanity.

You will see from what I have said, that I throw the responsibility and guilt of the war—in its initiation and precipitation—on the Southern rebels. Impartial history—the voice of God recorded by man—must ever make the rebel leaders responsible for what they deliberately planned, and so recklessly carried into effect.

But there are those who hate slavery and love freedom, who yet say that the Federal Government and loyal people, who are wholly in the right, and the Confederates wholly in the wrong, ought to have given ground, and allowed the South to secede! But these good people do not say that our Government ought to have allowed the mutineers of India to prevail, and go in peace; nor would they be willing to allow Ireland to secede, were the attempt again to be made. It is easy to bury other people's children, or to contemplate secession in another country. Every heart knows its own bitterness, and its own deep affections and loyal integrity. It seems to me that the principle of Secession, as a reserved State Right, is as false, pernicious and fatal as the doctrine of the right of murder and suicide; and no nation could exist were such a principle acknowledged and acted upon. I cannot see in your Constitution, or in the Declaration of Rights put forth by its founders, any grounds for the monstrous claims, or any pretext for the enormous crimes of Secessionists. The right of revolution in the answer to this question, a definite and positive reply is justly due to the country, through the medium of the public press, in order that the people may know distinctly what is the policy they are called to vote in favor of what the Secretary argues, viz, the re-election of the present incumbent of the Presidency.

My sympathy must ever be with the cause, and those who support the cause, of Freedom. The issue at first opened between the Federal Government and loyal people on the one side, and the so-called Confederate States on the other side, was one of mere resistance to the extension of Slavery. It was a just issue.

### SEPTEMBER 23.

THE LIBERATOR.

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**PARKER FRATERNITY LECTURES.**  
SEVENTH SERIES.  
**AT MUSIC HALL.**  
OPENING ADDRESS BY  
**GEORGE WILLIAM CURTIS, ESQ.,**  
ON TUESDAY EVENING, Oct. 11, 1864.  
To be followed on successive Tuesday Evenings by  
Oct. 18—**OCTAVIUS B. FROTHINGHAM.**  
Oct. 25—**ANNA R. DICKINSON.**  
Nov. 1—**OLIVER WENDELL HOLMES.**  
Nov. 15—**DAVID A. WASSON.**  
Nov. 22—to be announced.  
Nov. 29—**CHARLES G. AMES.**  
Dec. 6—**WENDELL PHILLIPS.**  
Dec. 13—**JACOB M. MANNING.**  
Dec. 20—**HENRY WARD BEECHER.**  
ORGAN CONCERT each Evening at 7 o'clock.  
W. EGDENE TEATON, Organist.  
Tickets admitting the bearer and Lady to the Course, at \$3 each.  
Tickets admitting one person to the Course, at \$1 each.  
Checks for SEATS RESERVED till 7 1-2 o'clock, \$1 50 additional for each seat.  
For sale at Oliver Ditson & Co's, 277 Washington street; John C. Haynes & Co's, 33 Court street, John S. Rogers's, 1071 Washington street, and at the Anti-Slavery Office.  
Checks for Reserved Seats for sale only at Oliver Ditson & Co's, and at John S. Rogers's.  
Only an average quantity of seats will be reserved, (the east section of the hall,) leaving the same quality of seats (the west section) for those who do not purchase reserved checks. Sept. 16.  
**Amusing Scientific and Instructive Illustrated LECTURES**  
ON  
**PHYSICAL EDUCATION,**  
Applied to mental and moral improvement, SPLENDIDLY ILLUSTRATED with a cabinet of Manikins and Models, costing over \$15,000.  
By DR. W. WALLACE HEBBARD.  
LECTURE 1st, ON MONDAY EVENING, SEPT. 16, AT TREMONT TEMPLE.  
Introductory to the General Course.  
LECTURE 2d, Sept. 27.  
On the Skin and Hair, Causes and Cures of their Diseases; Preservation of the Hair, Bathing, Dress, &c.  
LECTURE 3d, Sept. 28.  
On the Bones and Muscles, Causes and Cures of weakness, stiff joints, lameness, general debility, &c.  
LECTURE 4th, Sept. 29.  
On the Digestive Organs, Mouth, Throat, Stomach and Liver, and Causes and Cures of their diseases, &c.  
LECTURE 5th, Sept. 30.  
On Animal Heat, Nutrition, Influence of Diet on health, strength, long life, &c.  
LECTURE 6th, Oct. 1.  
On the Heart, Causes and Cures of its Diseases, Circulation of the Blood, &c.  
LECTURE 7th, Oct. 3.  
On the Lungs, Causes and Cures of Weak Lungs, &c. Asthma, Bronchitis, Consumption, Ventilation, &c.  
LECTURE 8th, Oct. 4.  
On the Brain and Nerves, Causes and Cures of Nervous Diseases, Influence of Education on Health, Long Life, &c.  
LECTURE 9th, Oct. 5.  
On the Organs of the Sense, Eye, Ear, Nose and their Diseases, Causes and Cures of Catarrhs, &c.  
LECTURE 10th, Oct. 6.  
On the Temperaments, Character, Beauty of Expression and its Cultivation, Influence of Sunlight on Health, &c.  
**EXTRA LECTURES.**  
LECTURE 11th, Oct. 7.  
To Ladies only—On Women and her Diseases, Causes and Cures—splendidly illustrated.  
LECTURE 12th, Oct. 8.  
To Gentlemen only—On the Origin of Life, and the Laws of Hereditary Descent—"Like Father like Child."  
LECTURE 13th, Oct. 10.  
To Ladies only—On Maternity, and the Influence of Mothers on the character of their Children.  
LECTURE 14th, Oct. 11.  
To Gentlemen only—On Manhood, and the causes and means of preventing premature decline, &c.  
Course Tickets at \$1.25—Single admission 15 cents—may be had at the door, and at Bookstores. sep27  
**MERCY B. JACKSON, M. D.,** has removed to 62 Dover street. Particular attention paid to Diseases of Women and Children.  
References.—Luther Clark, M. D.; David Thayer, M. D. Office hours from 2 to 4, P. M.  
COLLECTIONS BY E. H. KEYWOOD.  
Arlington, 70c; South Abington, H. H. Brigham, \$1 30; East Princeton, 2 67; Upton, 56c; West Wrentham, F. M. Cheever, 1, others, 357—4 57.  
MARRIED.—In Auburn, N. Y., on Wednesday evening, Sept. 14th, at the house of the bride, by Rev. Samuel J. May, of Syracuse, WILLIAM LOYD GARRISON, Jr., of Boston, to ELEAN, daughter of David and Martha C. Wright.  
At Kadenza, Steuben Co. N. Y., on the 7th inst., by the Rev. Mr. Coolby, Mr. STEPHEN K. BARTON, of Philmont, N. Y., to Miss MARY E. NEALLY, of the former place.  
DIED.—In Chelsea, Sept. 18, ABRAHAM BROWN, son of J. M. W. and S. E. Yerrinton, 11 months.  
**Young Ladies' Boarding-School.**  
DIO LEWIS, A. M., M. D., will open a Boarding-School at Lexington, Mass., on the first day of October, 1864.  
ISAAC N. CARLETON, A. M., for several years teacher of Latin, Greek and Mathematics in Phillips's Academy, Andover, Mass., will be the Resident Principal, and will devote himself wholly to the work of instruction. Mrs. CARLETON, a tried and successful teacher, will instruct in French.  
MA. THEODORE D. WELD, for many years Principal of the Eagleswood School in New Jersey, will have charge of an important department.  
In all the approved features of the best schools nothing will be wanting, while it is Dr. Lewis's special aim to illustrate the possibilities in the department of physical training.  
Parents having daughters of delicate constitutions to educate are invited to send to Dr. Dio Lewis, Lexington, for a Circular.  
Lexington, Sept. 8.  
MISS H. M. PARKHURSTS  
**BOARDING AND DAY SCHOOL**  
FOR YOUNG LADIES,  
NEWBURGH, N. Y.  
The Fall Term will commence on Wednesday, Sept. 21. Aug. 26—2w  
**MR. AND MRS. D. MACK'S**  
**Family Boarding-School for Young Ladies,**  
AT ORCHARD HILL, BELMONT, MASS.  
THE School will commence the last Monday of September.  
Circulars and references when requested.  
July 8. 3m  
A. J. GROVER,  
ATTORNEY AND COUNSELLOR AT LAW,  
OTTAWA, La Salle Co., Illinois.  
Special attention given to securing and collecting claims for Eastern Merchants.  
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Sep 12. 1f



